

/144 cont. /

411 quiver. Sometimes the arrows are in a special quiver made of
[237] eland horn or bark, which is closed off at both ends with a leather
cover (see Photos. 29 and 32).

The Auin almost always carries in his quiver a small container like the arrow quiver of eland horn or bark just described, in which he keeps arrowheads, poison, and other small necessities for shooting.

The notched end of the arrow is pulled toward the chest when the bow is drawn.

714 The war cap is to be regarded as the sole battle ornament.
It is made of aardwolf hide (see Photo. 21).

H. Hunting and Agriculture

224 Hunting is done both individually and in groups.

[231] Hunting dogs are to be found in occasional, isolated instances,
[439] but then they are usually obtained from the Kaffir or Betschuana.
The Auin maintain, however, that they know how to train hunting dogs. Collars and the like are not customary.

/145/ [Fig. 8 appears here.]

[422] I was unable to discover whether marks of ownership are applied to weapons and the like. On the other hand, I noticed that people immediately recognize their possessions.

There are no closed seasons on hunting.

251 The Auin prepares a kind of dried meat. Pieces of meat of any length and width are cut very thin (almost transparent) and are dried on trees in the sun. This dried mass, as hard as wood and inedible to a European, keeps for weeks during the dry season. There must be an almost unlimited surplus of meat available, however, if the Auin is to decide to preserve some, since he is accustomed to stuff himself to the point of unconsciousness. I have
[264] seen a single Bushman, without any help, consume a fully grown Klipbok weighing about six kilograms.

224 Undoubtedly there are especially industrious and impassioned huntsmen, as well as the opposite. I found some people who were absolutely useless on the hunt.

[Text continues on page 25]

/147 cont. /

222

Rosinkis of the Boers

So-called "wild cucumbers"

Mushrooms which grow on termite hills

- 251 The veld crop that has been gathered is kept in the huts in
[415] little sacks made of duiker or ibex leather.

/148/ The Auin also stores small caches of provisions by burying sacks of veld crops; he likewise buries tshamma or ostrich egg shells filled with water. In the tops of large trees one often finds, aside from animal hides, provisions of veld crops which are kept there. [Fig. 9 appears here.]

423

Land is held in common, that is, it is the common property of a horde consisting of several families. The game in this territory, as well as the wood and the veld crops, is exclusively for the use of the members of the community that holds the land. The watering places that are to be found there are available for general use, but only if water is abundant. If water is scarce, the local group that holds the land has exclusive right to it.

361

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The local groups sometimes live at considerable distances from one another so that the same land is used by several settlements. The settlements, after all, do not consist of a fixed number of families, but rather of those who are gathered together in fortuitous groupings as the occasion arises. Whatever the accidental composition of the settlements may be, their members always move within a definite area, and it is always the members of the same larger horde who form the settlements.

423

619

[685]

Friendly hordes permit tracking, that is, game that has been wounded on the land of one horde may be pursued on the territory of a friendly horde. A part of the booty is allotted to the "land-owner" within whose territory the game is killed. A definite agreement is required in each case since the Bushman attacks on sight any strange Bushman on his family's terrain.

628

Blood vengeance is not sought for a violation of territory if the local groups are especially friendly. The offender is driven off and, in addition, just as in Prussia, his "firearms" and booty are confiscated. The policing of the terrain is done by each Bushman on his communal land.

[721]

If women are caught trespassing, they are taken prisoner and led to the settlement of the owners of the terrain. This frequently leads to war if the women are harmed sexually during their captivity.

[Text continues on page 32]

[12 cont.]

000
439

occupation. Even among the nomadic groups, however, meat, hides, and so forth are commonly traded for millet.

[222]

Also, the Blacks like to have veldkost on their table, and the Bushmen, like our sponge and berry gatherers, use their knowledge to supply them and carry on petty trade with their veldkost, as well as with honey.

222

137

This is the reason that veldkost, which is either scarce or not very tasty, is not gathered at all any more; indeed, the knowledge of its presence is even disappearing. We must also not forget that the black shepherd boys long ago acquired the knowledge of the Bushmen by observing them. As a result, the number of those interested has naturally climbed sharply, and the veldkost plants have become rare. The following kinds are still regularly gathered:

222 /airoba (ombimbo)

Sweetish, very starchy tubers, like large potatoes.

/erui (omauungä)

Galls on the leaves of the omsati tree.

#gan-i (esarata)

Small fruit.

!Khui-i (oombi)

Dates.

!Korob-ke (oompali)

Bulbs at the roots of a liana.

251

439

Dried meat is made from kudu flesh, which in part is kept and in part sold.

278

[13] Arrow poison is made from the sap of a tree

(Euphorbiacea), !Khores-Ke. The Ondonga themselves make no

[439]

arrow poison, but buy it from the Bushmen for one to two sh per

752

portion. There is no medicine against arrow poison. Deep incisions are made at the place where the arrow entered, and after blood has flowed freely from the wound, it is sucked. In the case of snakebite the same procedure is followed, and some arrow poison is placed on the wound (!!!).

278

609

Our Bushmen denied any knowledge of poisons added to food. Only the "evil Bushmen" in the east had such knowledge, they claimed. This statement scarcely deserves credence.

177

In clothing, dwellings, and weapons, as well as ornaments, not much that is original remains. The process of Bantuization is much further advanced in the material culture than in the spiritual culture. It is, after all, easier to part with clothing than with ideas.

[62 cont.]

278 one person after another stepped up to the pan and threw his share of snake poison into it. Then the pan was removed from the fire.

[535] The Bushmen now performed a new dance, in which they imitated the convulsions of animals dying from the poison. After another half hour the poison was clear, and when everyone had convinced himself that it was the right color, a red mineral powder was added and thoroughly stirred into it. Then poisonous spiders were taken out of the reeds and thrown into the [63] pan. These came from the Langen Mountain in the Cape Colony, in other words, had been brought from afar. When the mass had thickened somewhat more, the arrows were smeared with it and dried in the shade (*ibid.*, p. 380).

595 These Bushmen, the M'Kabba, are monogamists.

563 Farini maintains (*ibid.*, p. 171) that he met a black Pygmy who came from the tribe of the Kara-Kara north of Amboland (1).

1. At the mission station Urikualuthi I was told by the missionary, Mrs. Quarni, who has made most meritorious contributions to investigations of the country, that shortly before the war a number of black Pygmies who lived in the swamps along the Kunene had come to Chief Moala. She saw these people.

252 Concerning the food of the Bushmen, Dornan has the following to report: The Marsawa [*sic*] eat meat either roasted or grilled, rarely boiled, because they believe that the latter will make them sick. The Bushmen of Basutoland cut the meat into tiny pieces, mixed it with fat, and then sewed it into hide sacks as preserved meat. As reserves in case of famine, the Kalahari Bushmen keep giraffe skins on tall trees. Veldkost is stored in turtle shells and ostrich eggs, as is water. The Basutoland Bushmen gathered grass seeds and stored them for times of hunger.

252 The tsama are prepared in the following manner: A hole is dug, and a fire is made in it. As soon as the soil is sufficiently

The following observations were made in the Transvaal near Pretoria, where infestation by *Cirina forda* is frequently so heavy that the affected trees may be readily recognised from a distance from the way in which the leaves are stripped. The caterpillar is prepared for food by being grasped by the head and squeezed through the thumb and forefinger of the free hand with a milking action. This clears out the bowel contents, and no further preparation is necessary before the boiling which follows. The head is rather hard and may be removed, but this is not necessary. After light boiling or roasting the caterpillars are dried in the sun and may be stored without deteriorating for several months. They are slightly oily but crisp in texture, with the smell and flavour of kippers. 252

Bauhinia esculenta Burch. (5160) Photographs 19 and 20. [251]

Eastern Ikha Bushman tal: (the seed)
nliq (the storage organ) 137X

This plant is a runner in open grassveld, with numerous slender vines up to 18 feet long, the youngest parts of them covered with a fine brown tomentum. They bear inch-long Y-shaped tendrils, but the plant is not a climber. The vines die back during the winter but do not disintegrate as readily as those of the Cucurbitaceae, and are conspicuous until the new runners are produced from the perennial underground stem. The leaves, which are soft and reddish-brown when young but turn leathery and glaucous as they grow older, are deeply bilobed, with a small spur between the lobes. The plant bears showy yellow flowers in December, and the pods ripen from April onwards. At first they are soft and reddish brown, then light green and, when ripe, brown and woody. They contain up to six flattened seeds about the size of one's thumb nail, consisting of a hard shell and a soft nutty edible inner part. The plant is easily seen because of the craters it forms where the soil is stony—craters a yard or more across, edged with a ring of stones which appear to have been forced to the surface by the stem beneath. The details of this crater formation, however, are not known.

This *Bauhinia* is curiously patchy in its distribution. Although it is plentiful in some places near Vryburg, it was not seen along the route of the expedition until a point 400 miles north of Vryburg, that is, 127 miles before Ghanzi was reached, and I have no record of it after leaving the Ghanzi area until the expedition crossed the border into South West Africa near Gam, after which it was again plentiful. It occurs in communities sometimes miles across, with the plants in these communities scattered 20 to 30 yards apart. On the expedition it was seen growing only on deep sand or where there were outcrops of limestone, and near Pretoria it has so far been seen only on the dolomite, but it has been grown successfully in Pretoria on neutral shaly soils. It has been recorded from the northern Cape Province, the western Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa.

Although the seeds are not pleasant to eat when raw, they are excellent after roasting, and analysis figures show that they are rich in protein and oil. The roasting should be carried out slowly, otherwise they may shatter with a rather disconcerting report, and to avoid this they are often roasted in sand, which probably gives a slower and more even heat. They may also be boiled to make a porridge or a drink. They will last through the winter in the field without spoiling but become scarce towards the spring, probably through being covered with wind-blown sand and being eaten by animals. 262
252
146

The plant was widely distributed along our route, sometimes in the open grassland and sometimes in the belts of woodland, but was not common. It has been recorded from Angola, South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Transvaal. 137X

The fruits are edible but not very palatable, for they consist of large stones and only a little pulp, sweet and slightly mucilaginous. Nevertheless, according to a note on one of Schoenfelder's specimens (Schoenfelder No. 8, in the National Herbarium) they are a staple food not only of the Bushmen but also of several Bantu tribes, and can be kept when thoroughly ripe. 262 [251]

Grewia flava DC. (4941, 5024) Photograph 30. 137X

!h5: Bushman.....	,n a:
!iganakwe Bushman...	,k"um
!gikwe Bushman.....	,k"wam
Naron Bushman.....	,k"um
Eastern !khu Bushman	,n η

A rigid shrub about five feet high with numerous erect straight stems, often branching below the soil and so appearing unconnected. They are softly hairy when young. Old stems have a smooth dark bark and are sometimes slightly angled. The serrate leaves, which are shed in winter, are dull gray-green above and covered with a fine silvery down below, and make an attractive background for the bright yellow flowers which come out in midsummer. The fruits are half an inch across, usually four-lobed, and brownish-yellow when ripe.

Grewia flava is known from the four provinces of the Union, and from South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. It occurred nearly everywhere along the route of the expedition and was one of the commonest shrubs of the central Kalahari, but only one of all the thousands of plants seen was in fruit.

The fruits have a little edible sweet pulp surrounding the seeds. They are an important Bushman food, not so much because of their quality as because of their abundance, and because they can be kept if they are first dried. They are then soaked in water or cooked before being eaten. 262 [251] [252]

Grewia flavescens Juss. (5053).

A lax deciduous shrub or scrambler up to 12 feet in height, with slender stems which often become four-angled in older specimens, and with leaves, flowers and fruits similar to those of *Grewia retinervis*. There was little of it fruiting, but whether the season was over or whether it is naturally not a heavy yielder is uncertain. 137X

This species has a wide distribution through tropical Africa. It was not seen south of Ghanzi, but was scattered from Ghanzi northwards to Gautscha Pan.

Its fruits are eaten by the Bushmen. As most of the *Grewias* were leafless and as there were more species towards the north, it became increasingly difficult to estimate the frequency of each when once the Ghanzi area had been passed, and nothing can be said as to the relative importance of the northern species in the Bushman diet. 262

X137 *Grewia retinervis* Burret (4875, 5066) Photograph 31.

!h5: Bushman.....	©b5:
!ganakwe Bushman...	!ani
!gikwe Bushman.....	!gani
Naron Bushman.....	!gani
Eastern !khû Bushman	!gwa

A straggly many-stemmed five-foot shrub, sometimes a weak scrambler up to 10 feet high. The stems are half an inch thick at the base, rounded and slightly woolly when young, slightly flattened and glabrous when old, and tough and pliant. Its leavers are alternate, pale green, one and a half inches long and an inch wide, ovate with a pointed tip, toothed, and roughly hairy to the touch. They wither and fall soon after being frosted, but if out of reach of the frost remain on the bushes at least until the end of July. The plant bears spreading yellow flowers half an inch wide, and fruits the size of a pea, with a papery brown skin enclosing a few large pips and some fibrous mealy material. *Grewia retinervis* is closely allied to *Grewia flavescens*, so much so that I doubt whether the two should be considered anything more than varieties of one species. The differences are that *Grewia flavescens* is usually taller, and not so conspicuously veined on the upper surface of the leaves. Mr. B. de Winter, of the National Herbarium, Pretoria, has observed also that its older stems are square in section and those of *Grewia retinervis* are flattened.

Grewia retinervis was scattered over most of the area covered by the expedition, and common in the central Kalahari, specially in open grassy country. It has been recorded from the northern Cape and the Transvaal as well as South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

262 The fruits are edible. They ripen in winter, and have a slightly sweet
251 taste and a pleasant flavour. They may be stored after being dried, and
252 are then soaked or boiled before being eaten. The crop, if one may judge from the 1955 season, is abundant, and the amount fairly constant for all the bushes. The fruits form an important part of the Bushmen diet, although little of them appears digestible. The roughage is voided almost unchanged, in enormous faecal masses up to two and a half inches in diameter.

824 The dry stems of this plant nearly always contain the tunnelings of
372 grubs, and the tunnellings are packed with their excreta in the form of a brown, pith-like substance which forms a useful tinder. The Bushmen split the stems down the centre, make a slight depression in the flat surface and use this as a socket for the fire-drill.

X137 *Grewia* sp. aff. *Grewia bicolor* Juss. (5056).

Eastern !khû Bushman gamak'wo:

A slender shrub up to six feet high, with many sparingly branched stems. The leaves are one and a half inches by one inch, very finely toothed, dark green above and pale below, pointed at the tip and rounded at the base. Both surfaces are covered with a fine grayish felt which is thicker on the lower surface. Typical *Grewia bicolor* has wool on the lower surface only. The fruits are the size of a pea, and have a little flesh covering usually one big seed. No flowers were seen.

This is another of the plants with a distribution which begins in the Ghanzi area and extends northwards, and the remarks made as to the distribution and importance of *Grewia flavescens* apply here also.

[262] The fruits are edible.

137 *Strychnos cocculoides* Bak. (4916) Photograph 37.

Iyanakwe Bushman... ,Iguwa

A 15-foot tree, erect and rather slender, sometimes unarmed and sometimes with very sharp paired curved thorns a little less than half an inch long. The leaves, which are also paired, are soft, minutely hairy and an inch and a half long and an inch wide with three prominent veins branching from near the base, one central and two near the margins. The old bark is dark gray, corky and deeply fissured, but the young twigs have a smooth bark densely covered with a fine down. The tree produces small greenish flowers massed into heads three quarters of an inch in diameter. The fruits are a little over a pound in weight and four inches in diameter, the size and shape of a gem squash, with the same type of hard rind, green when immature and turning pale brown when ripe. The seeds inside are embedded in a strongly aromatic pale pulp.

Strychnos cocculoides is recorded from the western Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Angola and central tropical Africa. On the expedition it was seen scattered through only one belt of heavy sand which began 136 miles north-west of Molepolole and ended 35 miles further on.

262 The fruits have an unusual and pleasant flavour, and according to a note on one of Schoenfelder's specimens in the National Herbarium the seeds may be eaten as well as the pulp. Galpin (1925: 22), who describes this tree under the name *Strychnos schumanniana*, states that the fruit may be picked green and ripened by burying it in sand. It will keep for several months without going bad.

137 *Strychnos pungens* Solered. (5447) Photograph 38.

An eight-foot bent evergreen tree with a spreading crown and paired hard shiny leaves with a sharp spine at the tip. It bears insignificant greenish flowers in compact small bunches in the axils of the leaves. The fruits and the veins in the leaves are similar to those of *Strychnos cocculoides*, and it has the same general distribution. Only one specimen was seen, near the northernmost point reached by the expedition.

(262) The fruits contain a pleasant edible pulp which is, however, not considered as good as that of *Strychnos cocculoides*.

Raphionacme burkei N.E. Br. (4997) Photograph 39.

Ih5: Bushman.....	bi:
Iyanakwe Bushman...	bi:
Igikwe Bushman.....	bi:
Naron Bushman.....	bi:

Nearly all of the plant is six inches below ground, in the form of a rounded storage organ about five pounds in weight and six inches in diameter, slightly flattened on top. It has a brown skin, and is pale yellow inside with flecks of white latex on the cut surface. It is connected by a "neck" a little thicker than a pencil to the above-ground parts, which consists of a few sparingly-branched erect stems, slender but wiry, six inches high and bearing narrow grayish-green leaves. The flowers, which are borne in small clusters, are greenish and inconspicuous, the fruits slender, three inches long and as a rule in pairs. The stems exude a milky juice when injured. They are not easily seen even in summer, and in winter less so, for the leaves are shed and the stems die back.

The Desert

9

The Bushmen are one of the most primitive peoples living on earth. Although most of their groups own some metal objects, Bushmen do not smelt or forge metal, but get it in trade from their Bantu neighbors. They use soft metal in the making of a few tools such as knives, arrowheads, and little axes, cold-hammering the metal into shape themselves. Bushmen make the other tools they use from wood and bone, grass and fiber, the things of the veld. They dig roots and pick berries to eat because they have no crops. The desert is too dry for anything but desert plants to grow naturally, and Bushmen, who quickly consume all the wild food available in one place, cannot stay anywhere long enough to tend crops or wait for them to grow.

There is not enough water to water livestock, and for this reason Bushmen have no domestic animals. Most of their groups do not even have dogs. Instead of herding, Bushmen hunt wild antelope with tiny arrows, sometimes made of soft, traded metal, sometimes made of bone, and poisoned with a terrible poison extracted from a certain grub, a poison which affects the nervous system of a creature and which is so deadly that an antelope shot early in the morning with a single arrow well placed in the body dies within the day. Hunting is very difficult, for travel in the veld is thirsty and rigorous and the antelope are clever, but as often as not the Bushmen hunters shoot one and then they use it all. Most of the meat is dried to preserve it, causing it to last at least a few weeks, but sooner or later every last bite of it is eaten, even the mucous lining of the nostrils and the gristle inside the ears. They sometimes eat the hide, sometimes work it into leather to use for clothing, and if the antelope bones are not all cracked for the marrow, pieces are worked into arrow points to shoot another antelope.

In order to live as they do, Bushmen must travel through

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361

The Bushmen

49

asked Ukwane for some, which Ukwane gave him. Gishe said: 224
 "I have been living among Europeans for a long time, but I 237
 remember now who I am." 272

From the body of that gemsbok the Bushmen bailed out 251
 several bucketfuls of liquid, enough to supply them for almost
 a week. They cut the meat into strips which they would dry
 in the sun and use as they needed them, also enough for a
 week or perhaps even longer, as there were only a few people
 and the gemsbok was almost as big as a cow.

Tsetchwe had built a tiny fire beneath a tsama melon, an 252
 empty melon with the top cut away, and when she received
 her share of the meat—for any animal is divided at once by a 224
 rigid system of rules, some meat given to each person rather 422
 than kept as a communal supply or portioned to families—
 she cut a small piece and stuffed it into the melon, where
 melon juice, heated through the rind, was boiling now. It
 cooked like meat in a stew, and when it was done Tsetchwe
 emptied the melon into a bowl, fanned it to cool it, and then 264
 ate some, putting a strip of meat into her mouth and hack-
 ing off a bite with her husband's knife. She was ravenously
 hungry and she ate almost all, while her baby, lying in her 253
 lap, nursed from her breast. The last piece she saved for him;
 she put one end of it into his mouth and, as he bit down,
 flashed the great knife under his nose to cut him a small
 enough morsel.

The gemsbok had vanished. All that remained from the 224
 butchering was the pile of squeezed, dry grass from the ru- 422
 men and a few lumps of feces that the redheaded flies buzzed
 over. The meat, bones, head, hide, and brushlike tail all now 237
 belonged to people, and all the people had carried their por-
 tions away. Gai owned two hind legs and a front leg, Tse-
 tchwe had meat from the back, Ukwane had the other front

132 that the great trains dragging hampered its mating, would
 136 twist and thrash and struggle, squeezing the wings between
 its thorax and abdomen, which did break off the wings but
 left the stubs. More and more ants were flying to the light
 and their circles were growing bigger and bigger until we
 couldn't move without stepping on them, but the women,
 getting more excited and moving very quickly, as if respond-
 ing to the pace and the excitement of the ants, scooped them
 up and ate them as fast as they landed, spitting out the silver
 wings as one would spit out chaff. Over our heads a few
 night birds and many bats were flying, catching and eating
 the ants before they reached the ground, and around our feet
 huge pink hunting-spiders rushed in and out of the swarm,
 dragging the ants from their acts of copulation and carrying
 them away to eat them in the dark.

Before long the flight had ended. Only a few late-coming
 ants bumped against the light, the night birds and bats were
 gone, and the spiders had run away. Nothing was left but
 the white wings like petals all over the ground and the wings
 that were caught in people's throats or stuck to their faces.
 The women, quite composed now, brushed themselves off,
 and one of them sang a song:

[539]

Gurico gum, ah

Ah, ah.

● [251] I noticed that each woman had managed to save a little
 bag or vegetable husk full of ants for her husband. These
 they put away.

132 That was in the late spring, a fertile season full of prom-
 ise, and when it was over the best season of the year began,
 called the Veld Food Season, which starts some time in
 361 March. The big rains have ended, the air is warm but not
 621 hot, the veld is filled with water, game, fruit, roots, and

Toma the Leader

201

the wind or passing feet had disarranged them; and the meat²²⁴
 that resulted from his prolific hunting was never wasted, for¹⁵⁹
 he would bring other hunters to help him dry it, then carry it¹⁵¹
 off to a werf somewhere to share with others.^[251 476]

He knew the habits of animals from the ways of the largest¹⁵⁹
 antelope all the way down to the smallest species of mice; in⁸²⁵
 fact, he must have known animals very well, for he could al-
 ways find them. He knew when he was in danger and when
 he was safe, and he was as brave as he was careful. Once, Short¹⁵⁹
 Kwi, John, and two other hunters were tracking a bull wilde-²²⁴
 beast that one of the hunters had shot. They came upon it¹⁵⁷
 lying down, surrounded by a very large pride of lions. There
 were twenty or thirty lions in all, having got there first and
 claiming the wildebeest as their own, for the bushes were full
 of lions walking back and forth, watching several other lions
 brave the fallen wildebeest, still able to protect itself with its
 horns. The braver lions were standing near the wildebeest,
 obviously steeling themselves for the attack, when the hunters
 arrived. The Bushmen had followed the wildebeest's trail
 through thorns and over the parching desert and were not to
 be deprived, and, speaking softly to the lions, they said: "We
 know you are strong, Big Lions, we know you are brave, but
 this meat is ours and you must give it back to us."

Even after these words the lions did not give ground. Their
 round eyes watched the hunters and they began to growl, and
 the four men, quite unarmed except for their arrows and a
 spear (to use a spear would have been folly), said respect-
 fully: "Great Lions, Old Lions, this meat belongs to us," and
 then advanced on the lions, throwing little stones and clods
 of dirt. The lions in the bushes began to back away, while the
 braver lions stood their ground until a clod struck one of
 them, causing him to huff and run back a little. At this, the
 courage of the other lions broke and they all turned and

SOCIAL TENSIONS AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

237

of the hunting party is not a matter of convention or of anxious concern. Hunting parties are freely organized by men who like to hunt with each other. No categories of kin or affines are prohibited from hunting together, whether they have a joking relationship or not or practise the sitting and speaking taboo. Men from different bands may hunt together. 224

A father has authority over his sons and sons-in-law and could tell them to go hunting or to accompany him and would expect them to obey. In other relationships participation in a hunting party is voluntary. Any man may instigate a hunt and may ask others to join. No one is formally in command of a party, unless he is the father with his sons or sons-in-law, but often an informal kind of leadership develops out of skill and judgement and the men fall in with the plans and suggestions of the best hunter or reach agreement among themselves somehow. 593

Hunting parties are usually composed of from two to four or five men. One hunter alone is at a disadvantage. A man cannot leave the meat unguarded from lions, hyaenas, jackals, and vultures while he goes to bring help from the band to carry it nor can he carry it alone. Only occasionally are parties larger than four or five. For two parties to hunt in different directions would be more advantageous than to form a larger single party.

When the kill is made the hunters have the prerogative of eating the liver on the spot and may eat more of the meat until their hunger is satisfied. If they are far from the band, they may eat the parts that are especially perishable or most awkward to carry, like the head, and they sometimes eat the cherished marrow. They then carry the animal to the band, either in its parts, bones and all, or, if the animal is very big, leaving most of the bones and cutting the meat into strips which dry in the sun to biltong and are more easily carried on the carrying-sticks. The blood is carried in bags made of the stomach, rumen, and bladder. 251 415

The gall bladder and testicles are discarded at the kill. Eventually the hooves are thrown away and usually the picked bones and horns. (The /Kung make only a few artifacts of bone and horn which last a long time and seldom need replacing.) Sinews are kept for making cord. The hide would be skinned off whole and tanned if it were suitable for a kaross and someone wanted a new kaross at the time. Otherwise, the hide is dried, pounded up, and eaten. Hides are quite tasty. Feet are picked of every tissue; gristle is dried and pounded. Soft parts, such as the foetus, udder, heart, lungs, brains, and blood, are often given to old people with poor teeth. Intestines are enjoyed and desired by all. The meat of the rump, back, chest, and neck is highly appreciated. Nothing is wasted; all is distributed. 321 283 281 886

The owner of the animal is the owner of the first arrow to be effectively shot into the animal so that it penetrates enough for its poison to work. That person is responsible for the distribution. The headman of the band is not the one to distribute the meat by virtue of his headmanship, unless he happens to be at the same time the owner of the arrow. The owner may or may not be one of the hunters. 400 600

Hunters have arrows which they acquire in three different ways. Each man makes arrows for himself, shaping the points (usually now of metal, but still possibly of bone or wood) with some slight distinction so that he will know them from the arrows of other men. Secondly, arrows are given as gifts. The man who made the arrow or who himself acquired it as a gift, may give it to someone else, either a man or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend. 422 404 411 431

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung



FIG. 13. One of the hunters (in the background) brings a hindquarter of meat to the owner of the arrow and lays it on branches beside his scherm



FIG. 14. Kham, a lame man, swings himself along with two sticks. He cannot hunt. Meat which some relatives or friends have given him hangs on the tree. His wife pounds some food with mortar and pestle

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to the /Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae /Kung eat hearty meals of meat when they have been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount. They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger.

The /Kung are quite conscious of the value of meat-sharing and they talk about it, especially about the benefit of the mutual obligation it entails. The idea of sharing is deeply implanted and very successfully imposes its restraints. To keep meat without sharing is one of the things that just is not done.

GIFT-GIVING

The custom of gift-giving comes, in my opinion, second only to meat-sharing in aiding the /Kung to avoid jealousy and ill will and to develop friendly relations. /Kung society puts considerable emphasis on gift-giving. Everything a person has may have been given to him and may be passed on to others in time. The /Kung make their artifacts, on the whole, of durable material and take good care of them. They last for generations and move in a slow eddy among the people. The dealings are only between individuals, but they are numerous and provide occasion, perhaps more than any one other activity does, for visits which bring whole bands into polite encounter.

We gave cowrie shells as parting gifts in 1951 to the women in $\neq$ Toma's band, the band which first sponsored us and with which we stayed and did our consistent work, wherever they were, on each expedition. We had carefully observed that there were no cowrie shells among /Kung ornaments before we gave them. Ours were bought from a New York shell dealer, perhaps to the confusion of future archaeologists. We gave to each woman enough for a short necklace, one large brown shell and twenty smaller grey ones. In 1952 there was hardly a cowrie shell to be found in Band 1. They appeared, not as whole necklaces, but in ones and twos in people's ornaments to the edges of the region.

The /Kung have not developed special objects to use as gifts. Nor have they invested ordinary objects with special gift significance. What they give each other are the common artifacts and materials of everyday life (see Appendix). Some objects are more highly valued than others as gifts, as one would expect. I gathered that relative scarcity of material was a factor and that objects were appreciated for their beauty, workmanship, and appropriate size (a wide headband is better than a narrow one). People took an interest in remembering to whom an object had been given in the recent past, but the /Kung, who are present-oriented, do not place special value upon antiquity as such or systematically hold the distant past in mind.

The /Kung decorate their artifacts very little (they have developed music and dancing, not the plastic or pictorial arts), but they delight in ornaments with which to adorn themselves. The intrinsic beauty, the meaningfulness, and the relief to the monotony of yellow-brown skin and grey-brown leather karosses are all valued.

They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger, as they eat sparingly of mangetti nuts and ts' when they must make a supply they have carried from a great distance last as long as possible.

The !Kung are well accustomed to restraining themselves in regard to food. Thus when a visitor comes to a fire where people are preparing food or eating, he should sit at a discreet distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share.

Although the hunters supply only about a fifth of the people's food and the women four fifths, the women play a dependent role in !Kung society. Nevertheless, the men do not ill-treat the women and require no extreme form of obedience or subservience of them.

The primary factor in the dominance of the men is undoubtedly strength. !Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous and, with their strength, they carry and protect the very life of their people.

Another factor that brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once a young man, /Qui, who was said to be the best hunter in the region, had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt, facing the creature, until it was within close range and shot an arrow straight into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by /Qui's wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes and the women—some of the plumes in their hair—danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of !Kung hunters.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSE TYPE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN • The building of the scherm—the Bushman reed-and-grass dwelling—is women's work, associated with vegetation and gathering. Each woman builds for her own family. However, unless no better shade can be found or unless it is raining, the women often do not bother to build these shelters. Especially after the long days of walking, it is easier just to settle in the bushes.

In the Nyae Nyae region, wood and grass are everywhere, and a woman can gather her material and build her scherm in less than an hour. She breaks up flexible branches about six feet long, digs holes with her

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By killing one male kudu (600 lbs.) with a weight 24 times greater than that of a steenbok (25 lbs.) a hunter would provide his camp with a quantity of meat roughly equivalent to that provided by 20 steenbok (assuming that the kudu has a somewhat lower ratio of edible to inedible parts than does a steenbok).

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On the face of it, hunting large antelope would appear to have overwhelming advantages in terms of meat. However, when news of such a kill reaches neighboring camps, dozens of friends and relatives descend upon the killer's camp to assist him in disposing of the meat. Thus at the end of several jovial days the superabundance of meat disappears and the fortunate hunter is out looking for meat again. The killing of a large antelope therefore has more prestige value than nutritional value to the family of the man who killed it.

This pattern of sharing large kills beyond the boundaries of a camp is ecologically adaptive because meat spoils quickly, especially during the rainy season and it is often necessary to eat meat that is in danger of becoming rotten.

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The Bushmen know how to make biltong (dried strips of meat) but rarely do this. This infrequency of making biltong is probably both a cause and an effect of sharing meat widely.

The only part of a large antelope kill that is consistently set aside for future consumption is the hide. This part of

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the animal evidently has much better storage properties than the flesh.

• In general, the larger the animal killed, the more widely its meat is shared. The meat of springhare, hare, steenbok, and duiker is usually consumed by the hunter's immediate family. The meat of wart hog, antbear and porcupine is [228] shared out among the members of a hunter's camp. The meat of kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok is shared out among the hunter's camp and among members of neighboring camps.

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Birds - The eating of birds again illustrates the selective food tastes of the Bushmen. Of the 75 species of birds recorded only eight species were said to be eaten and of these only four species were observed to be systematically hunted. The four important game birds were:

crowned guinea fowl

red-billed francolin

Swainson's francolin

red-crested korhaan

The other birds eaten were:

Kori bustard

double-banded sandgrouse

Cape turtledove

red-billed teal

Snares were regularly set in order to capture guinea fowl, francolin and korhaan. Occasionally other birds triggered the snares. Usually these other species were fed to the dogs. Occasionally they were simply discarded.

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Only the eggs of the above eight species appeared to be

221 Unfortunately spring is the most difficult season for the
433 Herero as well as for the Bushmen. The good grazing for live-
stock is miles distant from the waterholes. Consequently
the cattle are in poor condition and their yield of milk is
low.

- 251 It would be useful for the Bushmen to amass a surplus
of food in anticipation of this scarce season. However, none
of the 15 independent camps observed ever kept more than a
few days supply of vegetable foods on hand. Surplus accumu-
lation was not a feature of Bushmen food strategy except for
one instructive case.

251 There was a noticeable attempt to create a small surplus
285 in the form of dried meat and hides. Each family maintained
a storage basket in the crotch of a young tree. By weaving
a framework of branches and palm fronds and lining this with
grass, they built up a rough basket for storing weapons, water
containers and small amounts of food. The storage basket was
built five feet above the ground which kept its contents safe
from the reach of dogs and children. If a day's hunting had
been unsuccessful, the members of a camp could invariably
produce an emergency ration of dried meat or, more often, dried
hide for the evening meal. People saved scraps of dried hide
of kudu, gemsbok and wildebeeste from kills made weeks or
251 months previously. These scraps were softened by boiling or
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• 251 were roasted in the coals of the fire and then pounded to
252 the consistency of coarse meal in the wooden mortar. This
262 roasted hide had the taste and texture of crisp crackling
and was delicious when pounded and mixed with the flesh of
roots of the genera Coccinia, Walleria and Eulophia. These
stores of dried hide and meat did not serve as a staple sur-
plus so much as an emergency delicacy to brighten the diet
when a day's hunting had been unsuccessful.

221 The major food strategy during the hot dry spring was
222 the 7-14 day trip to the waterless country where mongongo nuts
312 were still plentiful. At these camps the only source of
361 water was the juice from the roots of Fockea monroi. Fockea
824 has an uneven distribution in the Dobe area. The Bushmen
must camp in a nut forest that is in close proximity to
patches of Fockea. The maximum period that a group was ob-
served to live on Fockea roots was two weeks. The limitation
is set by the density of Fockea plants in an area, and the
amount of fluid that each plant holds. Life at the Fockea
patches is difficult because people have to work hard to ob-
tain water as well as food. Each Fockea root storage organ
contains 8-16 ounces of recoverable moisture. Thus a daily
ration of 72 ounces of water can be obtained by digging out
5-10 Fockea roots.

312 But the dilemma of living on Fockea lies in the fact that
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